LABOUR MONTHLY

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BUDGET BATTLE

The Editor

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THE HUNGRY MILLIONS

Idris Cox

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THE PEACE MOVEMENT TODAY

Andrew Walker

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Situation in Spain — Mick McGahey

Restrictive Practices — John Cliff

How Britain Appeases Apartheid — M. Harmel

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LABOUR MONTHLY

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Notes of the Month

BUDGET BATTLE

April is the cruellest month.

—T. S. Eliot.

March 16, 1965

Of course the poet was not referring to the Budget. Even his *Waste Land* never pictured the full devastation which imperialism was to bring to the economy of Britain. But there is no doubt that the Budget, due to be announced on April 6, will deal cruel blows to the overwhelming majority of the people. All the prognostications have been gloomy. There have been noisy echoes off stage of a reported battle between the advocates of 'deflation' and 'expansion'. The magnates of finance, and in particular that supposed servant of the Government and head of a 'nationalised' 'industry', the Governor of the Bank of England, have all proclaimed their weighty word on the need to restrict home demand and consumption in the interests of meeting the deficit on the balance of payments and saving sterling. The battle has been presented as a battle between the departmental heads of the Treasury and the departmental heads of the newly-created Ministry for Economic Affairs, or even as if it had been a personal battle between Callaghan in charge of the former and Brown in charge of the latter.

Treasury Triumphs?

If in fact any such departmental battle took place, then the outcome would only show that the Treasury, which in conjunction with the Bank of England is the true citadel and leader of the interests of British finance-capital as a whole (that is, British imperialism, not merely British domestic industry), has won again, despite all the attempts to split its functions by creating the separate Ministry for Economic Affairs. But in reality the picture of this battle is misleading. The picture is created as if the Labour Government were being extravagant through endeavouring to spend vast sums on home expansion and social reform, while the wise men of the financial world advise more prudent housekeeping to cut one's coat according to one's cloth and limit expenditure in order to balance the economy. But this is not the true picture. The truth is that the Wilson-Brown Labour Government, continuing the Tory foreign and strategic policy, is being extravagant in the wrong direction, and is in conse-

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quence finding itself compelled to be restrictive also in the wrong direction. This is the real issue of the present situation. And this is the issue which will be further revealed in the hard language of figures by the Budget.

'Defence' White Paper

Last month we anticipated that the delay in the publication of the 'Defence' White Paper reflected a last-minute endeavour 'by desperate paring here and there on details to bring the total just below the horrifying figure of £2,000 million', but that the probability was that they would find 'even this aim elude them, and the grim record highest figure have to be presented'. This took place with the publication of the White Paper presenting a record total of £2,120 million, or an increase of £122 million on last year's record total of £1,998 million, and amounting, with the inclusion of the civilian expenditure for the armed services also set out in the White Paper, to a real total of £2,245 million. This increase, let it be further noted, is taking place at a time when the United States, the Soviet Union and West Germany are all cutting their armed forces expenditure. Is it so difficult to see what is the immediate trouble with Britain's economy, even in comparison with other leading capitalist countries, or why it is so difficult for Britain's industry, saddled with the heaviest tax burden to pay for all this, to compete successfully in the export market?

Price of Empire

All the old pretence of the supposed 'Russian menace' as the justification which used to be brandished for Nato and the vast continuously increasing arms expenditure, is now explicitly abandoned in this White Paper. The attempt to substitute a supposed 'Chinese menace' ('the recent Chinese nuclear explosion casts a shadow over the future'—shades of the Kaiser's old beloved 'Yellow Peril'!) is too feeble to deceive any one. Even the least observant cannot but notice that it is not China which has been dispatching armies to invade South East Asia. It is Britain and the United States which have been invading South East Asia with scores of thousands of troops and armadas of warships and bombing planes to spread havoc and destruction among the people. There is no pretence in this 'Defence' White Paper that Britain is in danger of being invaded by anyone, whether Chinese or Indonesian or Yemeni. The purpose of the vast

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armaments is openly declared to be to fulfil Britain's 'military responsibilities throughout the world'—in other words, the rôle of a world imperialist power, maintaining bases and military occupation or conducting wars in all parts of the world thousands of miles from Britain. In the subsequent 'Defence' 'debate' in parliament on March 3-4, it was even emphasised that Britain was carrying a more widely spread and heavier military burden all over the world than any other power (more than 50,000 troops in Malaysia, according to the White Paper, in contrast to the United States official figure of 27,000, after the arrival of the Marines, in South Vietnam; 72,000 in the aggregate total 'East of Suez'; 23,000 in the Mediterranean; and 62,000 in West Germany):

> Britain is the only country actually contributing forces to all three of the Western alliances. It is the only Western power with substantial interests between Suez and Singapore.
>
> (Denis Healey, Minister of Defence, in parliament, March 3, 1965.)

Quite so. But a curious boast for a Labour Government.

Bipartisan Empire Policy

In this same debate the bipartisan character of this costly world imperialist strategic rôle, so ruinous to the British economy, was openly proclaimed by the leaders on both sides. If it had been merely an exhibition of cross-talk by a couple of comedians on the stage in some television satirical farce, it might have been amusing to see Home congratulating Wilson on adopting the Tory strategic policy and Wilson congratulating Home on adopting the Labour strategic policy. But the joke is too expensive when its results have to be paid for by the people. Even in the case of the 1945 Attlee-Bevin Government the Fulton cold war policy proclaimed by Churchill was not formally adopted by the Labour Government, although the resolution of 105 Labour M.P.s to repudiate the Fulton programme was declared not acceptable to the Government. Now the bipartisan unity of strategic policy is openly proclaimed. In the words of Wilson in the 'debate':

> We can now move forward on the basis of a defence policy which commands, and deserves to command, the unity of the nation.

'Peace has been declared on the defence front' (*Times*). 'The great argument about the Bomb is over' (*Sun*). 'The war is over. Armistice is declared' (*Mail*). 'An armistice seems to have been arranged between Mr. Harold Wilson and Sir Alec Douglas-Home' (*Express*). A peculiar 'armistice' which prepares the opposite of peace.

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Financiers' Offensive

This is the real situation which finds its reflection in the imperative orders of all the bankers to the Government to cut home consumption by imposing still further taxation of the people in the Budget. The Chairman of the giant monopoly, Imperial Chemical Industries, Paul Chambers, led the way on January 18 with a public declaration that 'there must be some greater restriction of demand in Britain' to promote exports and counter the 'basic unsound and inflationary' conditions of the economy. Lord Plowden, former Chief Planning Officer, followed up on January 20 in his 'keynote speech' at the joint conference of the Federation of British Industries, the British Employers' Confederation and the National Association of British Manufacturers with a demand for 'increased transitional unemployment'. At the same time the *Financial Times* was calling for an increase in the unemployment rate from 1½ to 2 per cent, equivalent to an additional 125,000 unemployed. On February 15 the Governor of the Bank of England, Lord Cromer, took his now notorious step of publicly proclaiming his orders on policy to the Government demanding 'moderation in those activities at home which could be deferred', since otherwise if we 'continue to run our affairs in the same manner as before' then in that case 'the potential danger and threat to the high standard of living in this country are very real'. On February 27 the Report of the semi-official National Institute for Economic and Social Research, financed jointly by the Treasury and business interests, followed up the offensive with a full broadside announcing that it would be essential to cut the deficit on the balance of payments by £300 million, that only £100 million could be obtained by reductions in Government overseas expenditure and private overseas investment, and that in consequence £200 million would need to be saved by restricting home demand, for which purpose it would be necessary to increase taxation by £300 million. Never since 1931 have the financiers' orders to a Labour Government been so plainly proclaimed.

'Bankers' Ramp'?

Was this high-powered artillery barrage of the bankers directed to terrify and intimidate a too revolutionary or defiant Labour Government into submission? Did the Labour Government proceed to proclaim its mastery by dismissing this insubordinate public servant at the head of its own 'nationalised' institution? On the contrary. The hearts of the defendants of the citadel were beating as one

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with the assailants. The flag was fearlessly run up on the citadel, and lo! the flag turned out to be the flag of the 'enemy' attacking forces. The Government Ministers were singing the same tune. On February 18 the Economic Secretary to the Treasury, Mr. Albu, proclaimed the familiar favourite formula of the financiers, that the soaring increase of prices was due, not to the monopolists, not to the new increased taxation or higher interest charges, not to the Government waste military and overseas expenditure, but to the fragments of wages increases won by sections of the workers at a rate far below the rate of the increase of profits. 'There is no doubt that pay increases have continued to outrun the underlying rate of increase in productivity, resulting in continued upward pressure on prices.' At the same time *The Times* reported on February 17 that the Government was engaged in searching for 'an acceptable means test' in order to 'move away from the Beveridge insurance principle and win acceptance for the new doctrine that social security must be directed to those people who most need it and be denied to those who can manage well enough without it'. Shades of 1931. Pulp all the Beveridge literature which was poured out in such profusion from the Labour Party propaganda department in 1945.

Hour of Truth

It is better to face the truth, however harsh, rather than seek to repose temporarily in a bed of consolatory myths. The first myth which it is time to cast aside is the myth which seeks to explain all our present troubles by the picture of a 'bankers' ramp', the 'gnomes of Zurich' and the rest of it, as seeking to outrage the virtue of an innocent and all too trusting virgin Labour Government. Of course the bankers are out to exact their pound of flesh. We have already noted that the cost alone of the 2 per cent Bank Rate increase has added to the burden on the balance of payments by requiring additional interest to be paid on foreign holdings in London equivalent to an annual rate of £625 million. The latest Bank of England return has indicated that up to December, £570 million had been drawn from the credits allocated by the International Monetary Fund and foreign central banks to meet the crisis of sterling; and on this also interest has to be paid, and the advances fall due for repayment on May 31, with the consequent expected requirement of still further new borrowing. Of course the bankers will use all means, scrupulous or unscrupulous, to influence public opinion and ensure that what they regard as a correct policy is followed. But their campaigning

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pressure is not the initiating cause of the present crisis or deficit on the balance of payments. It is only the reflection of the economic situation caused by government policy, that is, in the first place, by the bankrupt imperialist cold war and arms policy. And the Government is in practice pursuing the same general objectives and methods to meet this situation as the bankers: that is, continue the ruinous imperialist policy as a permanent assumption, and restrict home consumption to meet the costs.

More Tired Myths

Similarly it is time to give a rest to the even more tired myth of ascribing all the present difficulties to 'thirteen years of Tory misrule'. Certainly it would be impossible to use too harsh terms to describe the disastrous character and consequences of these thirteen years of Tory misrule. But the diagnosis is incorrect. The decisive disastrous policies of this period, the imperialist cold war, Nato and arms policies, which placed such a crushing burden on Britain's economy, were essentially bipartisan policies, which have led to the chronically recurring deficits in Britain's balance of payments, with the consequent desperate 'stop-go' attempts to meet each successive crisis by the methods of raising bank rate, the credit squeeze, restriction of production and 'incomes policies'. All this cycle has now been repeated under the new Labour Government. To affix the label 'Tory' to this cycle is in consequence misleading, unless the term 'Tory' is used to mean imperialist, including Tory Labour or Right-Wing Labour dominating so far Labour Party policy.

Nineteen Years—Not Thirteen

Indeed, the limitation of the chronicle to thirteen years is arbitrary and equally misleading. The record runs over the nineteen years since 1945—the record of the cold war, Nato and crushing rearmament, equally under Labour and Tory Governments. It was the Labour Government which launched the cold war through Bevin, following the lines of Churchill's Fulton speech, which was only the trumpet calling to battle. It was the Labour Government which took the lead in launching Nato. It was the Labour Government which voted against every Soviet proposal for banning nuclear weapons, and initiated the construction of Britain's atom bomb. It was the Labour Government which, admittedly under American pressure, launched the first crushing rearmament programme in 1951, with consequent cuts in social expenditure and the fall of the Govern-

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ment. This is not a question of a wrangle over past responsibilities. It is a question of the necessity of a correct diagnosis now, if the correct conclusions are to be drawn by the labour movement on the changes in policy which are essential if a way forward is to be found from the present difficulties.

Menace of Inflation?

On all sides now equally Government Ministers and the banking magnates sound the call for stern measures, which are expected to find expression in the budget, to restrict home consumption and counter the menace of inflation. The picture is presented, as in the speech already quoted of Mr. Albu, of soaring wages outstripping the advance of productivity and thereby giving rise to the menace of inflation, demonstrated by the present accelerated rise in prices. So George Brown's Prices and Incomes Board, with a former Tory Minister as Chairman, is instituted to follow up the former discredited National Incomes Commission of the Tory Government by offering the same essential merchandise in a new dress. The real purpose of endeavouring to limit wage increases is accompanied by a show of reviewing price increases, but with the exclusion of the Holy Trinity of Rent, Interest and Profits from its survey of 'Incomes'. The Trades Union Congress would certainly be as well advised to keep clear of this professedly 'new' body covering the same essential content as they wisely kept clear of its predecessor.

Cold Facts

But is this official picture of wage increases forcing up prices and in consequence causing the menace of inflation a true picture of the present situation and problems of Britain's economy? Even the officially available information proves the opposite. During 1964 the official figure of the cost of living (index of retail prices) rose by 4·8 per cent. During the same year 1964 the official figure of weekly wage rates rose by 3·6 per cent, that is, decreased in real terms. In the manufacturing industries the rise was only 2·8 per cent. If it is claimed that allowance must be made for the effect of reductions won in the nominal working week, that is, for increased overtime payments, the official figure of all hourly wage rates rose by 4·6 per cent, or still a lower figure than the increase in the cost of living, and only 4 per cent in manufacturing. Even the highly questionable figure of average 'earnings' proclaimed with much publicity on the

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basis of one-quarter of the labour force, omitting many low paid occupations, showed only an increase of 4·7 per cent during the twelve months to October 1964. If we turn to profits, on the other hand, a very different picture is revealed. According to the official data, the gross trading profits of companies rose by nearly 8 per cent from 1962 to 1963. In the first three-quarters of 1964 there was a further increase of 17 per cent, compared with the same period of 1963. Total wages, salaries and forces pay over the same period rose by fractionally over 8 per cent.

Menace of Deflation

So far is this official propagandist picture of soaring wage increases supposedly bringing about a rise in prices and thereby letting loose the menace of inflation from corresponding to the real problem of Britain's present economic situation that it would be nearer the truth to say that the standard orthodox measures undertaken by the Government to meet the present economic difficulties—the steep rise in Bank Rate, credit squeeze and increased taxation—are bringing into real view the menace of deflation. We are threatened with the same restrictionist consequences of deflation as followed the similar measures of previous Tory Governments. If the consequences of this restrictionist policy and deliberate steps to curb home demand and consumption in the belief that this will lead to increased exports should in fact lead to increased unemployment during the further course of this year, we have seen that this objective is in fact openly demanded by the bankers' offensive, since in their view 'overfull' employment or the absence of a sufficiently large industrial reserve army serves to sustain the level of wages and hampers the efforts to depress real wages and living standards. But in that case farewell to all the eloquent conference talk and electoral promises of a vast programme of expansion. You cannot have it both ways. There is more need for the trade union and labour movement to be on guard against this menace of restriction and deflation arising from the Government's present policies than to tear their hair over fears that wages might go up too fast or the masses of the people be living too well.

Panic Fears of a New 1931

These restrictive measures which the Government has been putting through to solve the problem of the balance of payments in Britain —the rise in Bank Rate, import surcharges, export subsidies, and

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restriction of home consumption—cannot be seen in terms of Britain in isolation. Other countries are putting through analogous measures of various kinds to solve their own problems or retaliate to the threat represented to them by Britain's measures. It is this international economic situation of capitalism today which led the *Economist* to sound the alarm in a significant recent editorial:

> The international economic conjuncture is more worrying now than at any time since the end of the war. . . . It is conceivable that there could be a relapse into world recession. . . .
>
> In both the United States and Britain . . . there may be a slowdown or possibly a downturn of activity in the second half of the year between now and April 1966. In Britain such a downturn seems only too probable. . . . In continental Europe France shows signs already of relapsing into a recession. . . . In Japan this week stock market prices have touched a four-year low. . . . Most important of all, and particularly over the primary producing countries, hang the clouds of a darkening prospect for international trade. . . .
>
> The tone of recent speeches by the Governor of the Bank of England and others suggest that the City would not disagree that 1965 does indeed carry at least some threat of being 'another 1931'. . . . The economic, and still more the political consequences of any relapse into serious recession by the non-communist world would be dire indeed.
>
> ('Dangerous Waters', *Economist*, March 13, 1965.)

In face of the situation described in these terms this organ complains that 'all the financial advisers are still instinctively attuned to fighting inflation rather than deflation'.

Back to Gold?

It is in the context of this international economic situation that there has arisen anew the call for the return to gold sounded by De Gaulle and echoed by some influential West German financiers such as the head of the Deutsche Bank, Herman Abs. The suggestion arouses an understandable shudder in all quarters, high and low, in Britain, in view of the memories of Churchill's disastrous precipitate return to the gold standard in 1925 with the sequel of the collapse of 1931. But in fact the conditions under which the question is now raised in certain financial quarters are profoundly different and need to be understood. The restoration of the gold standard in 1925 was an artificial restoration based entirely on American credits. We pointed this out at the time in the editorial Notes in this journal entitled 'The Gold Standard', and predicted that once the point was reached when the repayment of the interest and redemption on these credits, on top of the tangle of already heavy debt and reparation

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payments to the United States arising from the war, would exceed the flow of new credits from the United States, the restoration of the gold standard in Western Europe would collapse. This took place in 1931; and Strachey has subsequently recorded (see 'Forty Years Ago' in last month's issue, p. 110) how prominent academic economists had expressed their annoyance that this *Labour Monthly* prediction of six years previously, which had been relatively isolated and which they had rejected at the time—indeed, the Editor, shortly after writing those Notes, had had a prolonged controversy on them with Professor Cassell, the principal ideologist and guide of the West European 'stabilisation' of the mid-twenties—had been fulfilled with such a considerable degree of precision.

From Gold to Paper

Today the conditions are different. With the collapse of the gold standard the classic economic functioning of capitalism described by Marx ended, or rather, the failure of the attempt to restore it after the blow of the first world war gave place to the characteristic economic expression of the general crisis of capitalism in all the manifold varieties of trickery of Keynesism or charlatanism. The technique followed of government manipulation of currency and credit, with no longer the manifest automatic limitation imposed through an objective standard of value embodied in the universal commodity of gold (in the end the limitations of objective reality are not so easily by-passed). Gold was replaced by irredeemable paper—except in the case of the dollar. Thereby the dollar, with precarious attempts of sterling to maintain a slippery foothold as an auxiliary alongside, proclaimed and maintained its world supremacy. All capitalist states had to maintain their reserves, for the backing of their currencies, not primarily in terms of gold, but in terms of dollar holdings ('gold and dollar reserve'). The United States deliberately held down the price of gold to its pre-war level; so that, while the general price level of commodities has more than trebled since the war, gold remains at the same price, thereby both discouraging attempts to accelerate the extension of its production, and ensuring that the available world supply at this one-third price level in relation to other commodities would be obviously insufficient as a basis for world currency and credit, and leave the dollar supreme and indispensable. This in turn facilitated the path for the dollar to invade and dominate the economy of every other capitalist country.

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Inter-Imperialist Conflict

But the law of the unequal development of capitalism has brought profound changes in the relations of the main capitalist powers in contrast with the situation at the end of the war. Despite the colossal volume of gold stored away in Fort Knox, the gold stock of the capitalist countries of Continental Europe is now greater than the gold stock of the United States. At the end of 1964 the gold stock of the United States totalled 15·6 billion dollars, and that of the capitalist countries of Continental Europe 18·2 billion (Common Market, 13·2 million). Further, the United States is now grappling with a problem of the heavy deficit on its balance of payments; the figure of its gold stock had fallen by the beginning of March to 14·8 billion, or the lowest since 1939. Under these circumstances the maintenance of the dollar as redeemable in gold—the hard expression of its supremacy and indispensability as the world currency—makes it vulnerable to an offensive by France or West Germany if these were to decide to replace their dollar reserves by gold as the backing of their paper currency. This is the offensive which De Gaulle has now opened, although West Germany has not so far followed suit. Thus the demand for the return to the gold standard by De Gaulle today is the opposite in significance from the restoration of the gold standard forty years ago. The restoration of the gold standard in 1925 was the expression of subservience to the United States. The demand of De Gaulle today for the return to gold, and initial measures undertaken for fulfilling this demand, is the expression of revolt against the United States. The United States, on the other hand, seeks at present to protect sterling as its precarious auxiliary to hold off any such offensive which would displace the dollar and sterling as the basis of world currency. Alternatively consideration is being given to the at present highly hypothetical schemes to establish through the International Bank or similar mechanism an artificial nominal world currency, in practice under dominant American control. In this way the sharpening inter-imperialist conflict of the present stage expresses itself in the currency field.

Whose Inflation?

Debasement of the coinage by monarchs of old used to be regarded as a crime of tyrants. Today the unhappy subject of modern capitalist governments is accustomed to hear every year that his paper pound is worth less and less, and by now represents only three

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or four shillings of the old golden sovereign of before the first world war. The unparalleled advance of modern science and technique and productivity might have been expected to find expression in a continuous fall in the prices of commodities. Such indeed was the general operation of the classic capitalism analysed by Marx during the second half of the nineteenth century. The phenomenon of the rising cost of living began to make itself felt with the era of imperialism from the beginning of the twentieth century. But the transition to an irredeemable paper currency enormously facilitated and accelerated this process. The government was previously compelled by an objective limiting factor outside its control to restrict its expenditure to what it could actually raise either by taxation or by loans. But the government could now by the operation of the printing press multiply without limit the volume of fiduciary currency and on this basis erect a towering structure of credit reflected in a ceaseless augmentation of the state debt. This has provided the technique for financing both world wars and the gigantic expenditure of the cold war and arms race. The costs do not disappear; but the citizen pays in ceaselessly rising prices, as well as the ever rising burden of taxation. The continuous depreciation of the currency is a form of continuous expropriation of the earnings or small savings of the people.* While his paper pound melts away in his pocket, the unhappy British citizen is forbidden by law to attempt to turn it into gold to retain a stable value. In face of this continuous rise in prices the desperate struggle is maintained by the better organised to increase wages so as to catch up with the rising cost of living and get some share of the increasing volume of production. The blame for inflation is then placed on the wage struggle instead of on the real guilty party, the Government and its waste of the country's resources and output for profligate unproductive imperialist expenditure, together with the giant monopolies which are able to raise their profits to ever greater heights through this whole swindling process.

Unity of the Economic and Political Fight

The Trades Union Congress justly issued its warning in February against a deflationary budget such as would attempt to restrict home expenditure of the people, while maintaining the high level of military expenditure and overseas expenditure:

*An ironic expression of the fantastic level to which this depreciation of the currency has now reached was afforded when a few days ago the Bank of England issued an announcement appealing to the public to put up with a longer period of use of their filthy paper pounds, and to refrain from asking for too rapid replacement by clean new notes, in order to economise in view of the high cost of paper.

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> There was no sharp growth in consumers' expenditure in 1964, and it would be premature to initiate deflationary measures now, in the belief that consumers' demand may rise so much this year as to divert resources from exports.

The T.U.C. called for 'ruthless cutting back in essential activities', with 'special attention to reducing overseas military expenditure'. The Government, however, has pursued the opposite course, with a vast increase in military burdens and overseas military commitments, and preparations to place new burdens of taxation on the people. The only attempt to reduce overseas military costs has been made, not in respect of the colonialist wars and the 72,000 troops East of Suez, but to try to beg some marks from the West German heirs of Hitler for meeting a part of the costs of the entirely unnecessary 62,000 troops maintained there, and to offer as the price of this a shameful surrender in foreign policy to German militarist expansionist aims, with the repudiation of the Oder-Neisse line previously pledged by Britain, and the revolting plan to send the Queen as a cold war pawn to West Berlin. The grave development of the war situation in Vietnam and South East Asia, with open British complicity so far in the criminal American aggression condemned by popular opinion all over the world, has demonstrated how urgent are the present issues and the decisive change of policy requiring to be achieved. At the same time the rising volume of response from all sections of the trade union and labour movement, as well as within the parliamentary Labour Party, has indicated that this urgency is becoming increasingly recognised. The elementary home fight for the needs of the people is bound up with the fight on foreign policy against the colonialist wars and ruinous arms expenditure. On both fronts the Budget is the most direct and sharpest expression of this fight.

R.P.D.

'Priceless as a living history of this epoch . . .' (*A. L. Morton*)

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THE PEACE MOVEMENT TODAY

Andrew Walker

FOR the past year or so the organised peace movement in Britain, as represented by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, British Peace Committee and many other organisations as well as important local and regional bodies, has been going through a difficult period. Since the general election it has had to grapple with the problem of adapting its approach and tactics in the new situation created by the fact of a Labour Government, after thirteen years of fighting Tory administrations.

Further, important changes have come over the world political situation. The relatively favourable possibilities of the immediate post-Test Ban Treaty period, the era of Kennedy's American University speech—in which he tried to come to grips with the need for genuine peaceful co-existence with the U.S.S.R.—the beginnings of a detente, the hopes for progress at the Geneva Disarmament Committee—all have given place to a more dangerous situation. The Johnson administration has shown itself determined to try and impose its will on the world in the teeth of popular opinion, even in the U.S.A., and at whatever cost. This confronts the British peace movement with a situation as grave as it has ever had to face.

The time seems ripe, therefore, to attempt an assessment of the position in the peace movement, to try and see how it can rapidly mobilise the great potential support that exists, lay a broader, more solid and more stable base than previously, and bring its influence to bear in the most effective way. Something also needs to be said about its policies and objectives, and about the allies it could and should be seeking in the present very fluid world situation.

During the long run-in to the General Election and in the months since, many of the various sections of the organised peace movement have found some difficulty in adjusting to the probability, and since the election to the fact, of a Labour Government. After all, the whole life of many, especially the younger people, active in these organisations, has been spent under a series of governments whose fundamental attitude on the peace question can be summed up in Home's phrase: 'The British people are willing to be blown into atomic dust for Berlin'.

There were various trends. Those, probably a majority, who thought that a Labour Government with Harold Wilson at its head,

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was all that mattered. Those who, while not sharing the anarchistic, a-plague-on-all-parties attitude, were nevertheless disgruntled by Harold Wilson's calls for tanks in Cyprus, helicopters in Malaysia and aircraft to support our boys in South Arabia, and by the lack of any sustained activity. Then there were the various groups of sea-green incorruptibles: those who, in reaction against the first group, wanted to march out into the wilderness by transforming the organised peace movement as a separate organisation into a political party by including such things as housing, opposition to racism, local government and whatnot in its programme, or by putting up candidates at elections; the opponents of all political action; and the diehard universal unilateralists who seemed impervious to the changes in the domestic and international political scene.

Few were thinking about, and fewer still putting into practice, the new approach that would be necessary under a Labour Government enjoying the support of the Labour movement as a whole, and with a sizeable number of peace supporters both in the House of Commons and holding government posts. There were a number of scattered examples of the successful application of the approach, to combine critical support for the positive peace programme contained in Labour's election manifesto: nuclear-free zones, non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, new disarmament proposals, the ending of outdated cold war policies, etc., and the endeavour to rally the broadest mass support, especially in the trade unions, on a non-sectarian basis. Such examples were the 'Breakthrough to Disarmament' Conference in November 1963, the work of Labour C.N.D., the Liaison Committee of Women's Peace Groups, and such local co-ordinating committees as those in Reading and Aberdeen. The British Peace Committee's leaflet in support of C.N.D.'s Easter March is another.

All the above-mentioned trends, and the resulting confusion as to the direction to take, were strongly expressed at C.N.D.'s annual conference last October. Though adopting a good general policy resolution, it could also reject a sensible, though perhaps unfortunately worded, resolution from Labour C.N.D., resuscitate the unilateralism-in-all countries canard while rejecting a resolution for unilateral initiatives, and shelve a very good policy statement which in general embodied the approach referred to above. When there is uncertainty on policy, inaction follows. Indeed, it took strong pressure from the floor to get the platform to accept, even in principle and with strong qualifications, the idea of a three-day march this

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Easter. One had the feeling then—reinforced since—that whatever the loss of support due to confusion, inaction and lack of leadership, there still existed a potentially powerful movement at the grass roots, ticking over quietly and waiting for a sign.

That signal has now come from the fifty or so Labour M.P.s who have called for an end to the American war on the people of Vietnam, the twenty odd who tabled a motion for cuts in military expenditure, and the thirty-two who have asked Labour Party members to join C.N.D.'s March 'to make it clear at Easter that they look to the Government to take urgent action in fulfilment of the Party's general election commitment' in relation to Britain's bomb and the M.L.F. Never was a call more timely. All those members of the peace movement who hoped for better things from a Labour Government are bitterly disappointed by the Government's quite staggering reversal of its peace pledges in five short months of office. 50,000 troops in South East Asia in fulfilment of its 'East of Suez' policy (shades of the 'Road to Mandalay'); determined public support, in virtual isolation, for America's unspeakable war in Vietnam; a new peace-time record in military expenditure; aiding America and Belgium in promoting the massacre of the suffering Congolese people; keeping the bomb and Polaris; promoting a new anti-Chinese cold war in the East; and, saddest of all, Harold Wilson in Berlin speaking of the 'Soviet zone', supporting the Federal Government's policy on the Oder-Neisse line, qualifying out of existence Labour's proposal for a Central European nuclear-free zone, and 'standing' for the reunification of Germany through 'free elections' (the badge of total surrender).

The only adequate response to this situation and to the M.P.s' call is to win the strongest response for this year's Easter March. Every peace group, of whatever ilk, throughout the country will need to be mobilised, those that have gone out of existence be revived, and Easter March Committees be set up where groups are weak. Above all, the peace movement needs to make close contact with constituency Labour Parties and the trade unions at rank-and-file level. The resolutions on Vietnam of the Transport and General Workers' Union, the National Union of Railwaymen, and the Scottish miners are a most important expression of the powerful rôle of the trade unions in the fight for peace. At the same time the great need is to get trade unionists in their thousands to join the March and thereafter to work consistently with the peace movement the length and breadth of the country. Contact should also be made with

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every other organised force that is concerned about peace.

This year's Easter March should lay the foundations for a bigger, broader and more influential peace movement than we have yet seen, enjoying the active support of the entire labour movement, and with a network of consistently active groups all over the country. It has been done in Australia, which has a political structure similar to ours. The strength of the Australian peace movement lies in the trade unions, and when, last October, it held a big congress for disarmament and international co-operation, it had the support of the Australian T.U.C. and Labour Party. It can be done here also, if a sufficiently consistent effort is made. (It was under Kennedy, not Eisenhower, that the American peace movement began to grow. Only such a movement can offset the great pressures on the Labour Government and give the 'peace M.P.s' the backing they need in trying to hold the Government to its election pledges.

A month after the March the Nato Council will meet in London for the first time, and it can be confidently expected that the peace movement will not let this occasion go by without some form of mass activity in opposition to the M.L.F.-A.N.F. and for East-West security arrangements in Europe. The work for this should dovetail into that for the March so that there is a continuous flow of activity.

It is, however, clear in the present world situation that the peace movement in Britain needs to broaden its goals. The almost exclusive concentration on nuclear and general disarmament, and related partial steps, that was understandable in the Kennedy era, now no longer fits the picture. The present very grave crisis over Vietnam is to some extent due to the peace movement's failure to pay sufficient attention in the past to this and other crisis spots caused by the resistance (mainly American and British) to the great wave of national liberation and decolonisation in Asia and Africa, described in Peter Worsley's book 'The Third World'.

It has often been said that the obstacles to disarmament are not technical but political. The wars and crises in Vietnam, Malaysia, the Congo, Angola, South Africa, South Arabia, the Caribbean and elsewhere make explicit the nature of these political obstacles, and opposition to these wars, and to the colonialism and neo-colonialism that cause them, as necessary to the attainment of world peace as opposition to the M.L.F., Polaris and the nuclear arms race in general. Otherwise, one day we could find ourselves demonstrating against the M.L.F. while a world war broke out over Vietnam. This is to say that liberation movements and the new non-aligned

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states of Asia and Africa are natural allies of the British peace movement, and that there should be much closer co-operation between it and such organisations as the Movement for Colonial Freedom.

In conclusion, the need for friendly co-operation between all sections of the peace movement was never clearer. None has a monopoly of wisdom, all seek the same goal. The recent anti-M.L.F. demonstration at the Nato Council in Paris and the 'Peace in Europe' conference held in Rome by the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace, attended by representatives of the World Council of Peace and European peace committees, showed what can be done. The result is an increase, in geometrical progression, of enthusiasm and activity. The times call for no less.

BRITAIN AND THE HUNGRY MILLIONS

Idris Cox

Britain's future depends upon an expansion of world trade, upon making effective the vast potential demand of 1,500,000,000 customers in underdeveloped territories. The age of exploitation is over; we must raise the standards of those to whom we hope to sell.

(*Labour's Colonial Policy: Economic Aid*, June 1957.)

DURING the long years of Tory rule Mr. Harold Wilson waxed most eloquent on the need to extend far more 'economic aid' to the under-developed countries, to assist in raising their living standards, and so provide an expanding world market. His original plan was to devote 2 per cent of Britain's national income to an 'international fund for economic development'. In Labour's official policy this was reduced to 1 per cent—at that time about £160 million a year. In actual practice, total 'economic aid' under Tory rule reached £160 million only in the peak year of 1962, but due to the rapid rise in Britain's national income this was far less than 1 per cent. In 1962-63 the total dropped to £148 million, and is likely to have been less for 1963-64. There is every sign it will be lower still during the first year of the Labour Government.

In the eight years since 1957 the tragic problem of world hunger and poverty has become even more serious. The United Nations gives a moderate estimate that in 100 of the under-developed coun-

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tries, with a total population of 1,250 million, the average national income per head is less than £40. On the other hand, in Western Europe and the United States it is more than £400, ten times as much. Economic transformation lags seriously behind the political transformation in the pattern of world relations. Since 1957 the world scene has changed rapidly. The majority of the former colonies have won political independence, and nearly sixty new states have emerged since the second world war. Within the United Nations, the new states, together with the socialist countries, are making a tremendous impact on world affairs. Faced with this rising opposition the imperialist states apply the dual strategy of making minor political concessions while resorting to new methods to maintain their domination—the strategy of neo-colonialism.

Great political victories have been won against imperialism, but the distorted economic pattern of the capitalist world still remains. Apart from the socialist world (where the economy and living standards are rapidly growing) poverty and hunger still remains in all the under-developed countries. This spectacle of growing mass hunger and poverty alongside the 'affluent' countries, is often presented as a contrast between the 'poor' and the 'rich' countries, with the Soviet Union included among the latter. In reality, it is a contrast *within* the capitalist world, between the imperialist exploiters and the exploited under-developed countries.

The Soviet Union, together with other socialist countries, is doing its utmost to assist the new states to transform the backward economies and low living standards which they have inherited from colonial rule. The strategy of neo-colonialism is to maintain this gap, and even to extend it. Together with the drain of the gigantic profits of the big overseas monopoly firms and banks from the new states, (politely termed the 'developing' countries) there is the widening gap between what the new states get for their exports and what they pay for their imports. Few have reached the stage of exporting manufactured goods, and those who do can export only a tiny fraction. In the main they are dependent on the export of raw materials and primary products, and have to import most of their manufactured and capital goods.

The *volume* of exports from the 'developing' countries rose from the index figure of 70·7 in 1951 (taking 1960 as 100) to 111·2 in 1962. In the same period the *value* of these exports dropped from 125 to 95. Taking both together, the 'terms of trade' for the developing countries went down from 116 in 1951 to 96 in 1962. Prices rose

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slightly in 1963, but dropped again in 1964. Put in more graphic terms, what the 'developing' countries had to export for every ton of steel imported from the 'developed' countries is given in the following revealing contrast:

Product	*1951*	*1961*	*Per Cent*
Ghana (lbs. of cocoa)	202	571	283
Brazil (lbs. of coffee)	158	380	240
Malaya (lbs. of rubber)	132	441	334

This serious drop in the prices of raw materials and primary products on the capitalist world market brought no benefit to British consumers. On the contrary, they have had to pay more for cocoa, coffee, chocolate and rubber. The benefit of the steep decline in prices has gone in to the coffers of the big overseas monopoly firms dealing in these products.

By this process it is estimated by United Nations experts that the 'developing' countries have been robbed of no less than $13,000 million between the years 1951 and 1961. If this trend goes on, they calculate that by 1970 this widening gap will have robbed these countries of no less than $7,000 million in one year alone. No wonder the 'developing' countries (which include the new states and the Latin American Republics) have exercised the utmost pressure in recent years within the United Nations to change this pattern of world trading relations. They had the full support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries—in contrast to the strongest opposition from the imperialist countries.

Despite this opposition the United Nations was obliged to convene an international conference on trade and development (U.N.T.A.D.) at Geneva during April-June of last year. Reluctantly forced to take part, the representatives of the imperialist countries did their utmost to oppose and sabotage all the proposals made to ensure more equitable world trading relations. In the final voting on 15 'general' and 13 'special' principles, Britain and the U.S.A. voted against or abstained on 11 of the first principles, and 8 of the second. The Soviet Union voted in favour of all the 'special' principles, and all but one of the 'general' principles. The Geneva conference has not solved the problem. Its value lies in the overwhelming vote in favour of more equitable principles in world trading relations, and in the exposure of the attitude of the imperialist countries. But the real solution lies in the extension and growth of the solidarity struggle against all forms of imperialist domination. And this is in the basic interests of the British people, no less than the hungry millions in the 'developing' countries of the world.

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What is the root cause of this situation? World hunger and poverty is the inevitable consequence of imperialist exploitation. It arises from the incessant drive to get cheap raw materials and primary products from the 'developing' countries, and in turn to sell them manufactured and capital goods at the highest prices. Moreover, the pattern of imperialist exploitation is to distort and impede the growth of an independent economy in the 'developing' countries, thus forcing them to rely on specialised exports. A few examples will suffice to reveal how this works in practice. For Malaya 76 per cent of exports consist of rubber and tin; for Senegal 86 per cent of exports are oil-seeds; cocoa and timber account for 93 per cent in the Ivory Coast; tea and rubber exports from Ceylon consist of 82 per cent, and 77 per cent of Bolivia's exports consist of tin, lead and silver. What is essential to change these colonial types of economy into an independent balanced economy is the creation of an industrial base, and a diversification of agriculture, with the most rapid expansion of the public and co-operative sector of production. This is not just a matter of blue-print plans, though well-prepared economic plans are the first step. *It is primarily a matter of carrying forward to a higher stage the solidarity struggle to end the imperialist system of exploitation.*

The political effect of all the philanthropic schemes to feed the 'hungry millions' has been to conceal the real cause of world hunger and poverty, and enable imperialist robbery to continue on an increasing scale. The Duke of Edinburgh is a patron of the 'Feed the Hungry Campaign' and the Queen is a patron of the 'Save the Children Fund'. Oxford Famine Relief (OXFAM) raised just over £2 million in 1963, which works out at a penny divided between three people for a whole year! True, there may be thousands of well-meaning people who sacrifice money, time and effort for this altruistic aim. But it is important to convince them, not only that their self-sacrifice fails to touch even a tiny fringe of this vast problem. The fact is that their genuine efforts are actually being exploited to cover up the real causes, and to enable imperialist exploitation to increase the volume of world hunger. So at the end they are back behind the starting point!

Even the most zealous champions of imperialism cannot conceal the widening gap between the living standards of the 'developing' countries and those of the 'developed' capitalist countries. But they try to hide the process of imperialist robbery by means of all kinds of schemes for 'economic aid' to the 'developing' countries. These

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range from the 'multilateral' schemes of the United Nations, World Bank, the Colombo Plan, and the Organisation for European Co-operation and Development (O.E.C.D.) to the 'bilateral' schemes of the United States, Britain, and other capitalist countries.

In December 1961 the United Nations launched a 'development decade', for which the aim was set for the 'developing' countries to increase their national income by 5 per cent in the first half and by 6 per cent in the second half of the decade. Taking into account an estimated population rise of 2½ per cent, it was calculated that this would double living standards within 25 to 30 years. It was estimated that it would take 80 years for living standards in these countries to reach the *present* level in Western Europe, and 120 years to reach the present level in the United States. All these estimates assume that the imperialist system of exploitation will go on for ever. Just as United Nations estimates of dates for colonies to achieve their independence were shattered by the rapid advance of the liberation struggle throughout the world, so it is also possible that new political victories will shatter their estimates of the rate of economic advance. Within only five years, liberated Cuba, with vast socialist economic aid, has already destroyed these forecasts. And in Algeria, Ghana, and other countries, living standards are increasing rapidly in the process of advancing towards socialism, even before it is actually achieved.

In a subsequent article we shall examine the various projects for development and aid which have been adopted and how they have worked out in practice.

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RESTRICTIVE PRACTICES

John Cliff

RESTRICTIVE trade union practices have been receiving a lot of skilled attention lately. There have been articles in *The Times* and the *Sunday Telegraph* and the Institute of Economic Affairs has a team (including Sir Graham Cunningham, ex-managing director of Triplex Safety Glass who should know something of another kind of restrictive practice) investigating the subject.

What are these restrictive practices? Three commonly quoted kinds are demarcation rules, restrictions on entry to the trade (either by apprentice ratios or the closed shop) and working to rule; restrictions that is, to safeguard jobs, to keep up the price of labour or to strengthen the bargaining position. All perfectly legitimate objects and indeed the respectability of restrictive practices has been recognised by the Restoration of Pre-War Trade Practices Acts passed in two world wars.*

This is not to say that a particular restrictive practice is always the best way of achieving the object. Demarcation disputes, a natural result of a change in technique which wipes out a trade or part of a trade, make no trade unionist happy because they divert to civil war the energies which should go into fighting the employer. For this reason the unions themselves have made great efforts to overcome them, by settling disputes themselves and by driving for amalgamation of unions. More progress has been made on amalgamations in shipbuilding and building in recent months than has been made for forty years.

Disputes apart however the employers are conducting their own assault on demarcation rules, under the banner of 'flexibility' or 'interavailability', and this raises quite different questions. Exhortation having failed and relatively full employment making the big stick less potent, they set out about five years ago on the exercise known in the States as 'buying the union rule book'. Esso's Fawley agreement in 1960 set the pattern: some 'flexibility' between crafts, doing away with mates, cutting out overtime and some consequent increase in shift working, the whole made palatable by a sizeable wage increase. Hourly earnings at Fawley went up by 35 per cent in two years, but production per man went up by 50 per cent. The Fawley example is being followed, in whole or in part, not only by

*The first one came into operation in 1919 and there was at least one successful prosecution under it: a firm which had taken on women during the war was forced to restore the jobs to the men, and was fined £50. The 1942 Act never came into operation; the 'end of the war period' was postponed from year to year and swept under the carpet in 1950.

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other oil companies, but in electricity supply, steel and civil air transport.

The object of the exercise, of course, is to cut down the labour force and this, it is clear, is something dear to the heart of the government. At a recent conference Maurice Foley. George Brown's under-secretary and a member of the Transport and General Workers' Union, suggested that wiping out 'underemployment' would save 10-15 per cent of manpower over industry as a whole (*The Times,* March 4, 1965). The Declaration of Intent, in a passage which has not had as much attention as that on incomes, pledged management and workers:

> to encourage and lead a sustained attack on the obstacles to efficiency, whether on the part of management or of workers.

The *Financial Times* reported that the employers attached major importance to this point and believed that the 'Government will at least give its moral support to any employer who is trying to "negotiate away" restrictive labour practices or wasteful deployment of manpower' (December 17, 1964). If full employment were really secure, of course, this might be one thing; if it is not, quite another. When a Tory Minister of Labour urged the unions in 1961 to get rid of 'these out-of-date—and in this age of full employment quite unnecessary—hindrances to greater efficiency' he was only 12 months away from an unemployment figure of 800,000.

So far we have considered mainly practices which aim at safeguarding the job. But where do restrictive practices stop? The authors of a useful survey in the thirties* reported that employers:

> had widely differing views as to what constituted a 'trade union restriction'. Some regarded as the most grievous of all 'restrictions' the refusal of the trade unions to agree to a reduction in wages which, in the employers' view, was essential.

And lest anyone should suppose that such views belong to times past the *Sunday Telegraph* reported (February 14, 1965) that the Coal Board's earnest researchers were looking into the subject. They had listed a number of practices such as 'refusals to perform work left over from a previous shift' but:

> A second . . . group of restrictive practices noted by pit managers has so far defied detailed analysis. They are lumped together as dissatisfaction over payment; sympathy with men dismissed; objections to under-officials; alleged bad working conditions; retaliatory disputes and troubles over the five-day week agreement.

Even the Army never thought of calling dumb insolence a restrictive practice.

**Are Trade Unions Obstructive?* (Gollancz, 1935).

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Any suggestion that it is restrictive trade union practices that are holding up production, is, of course, nonsense. It is not the unions that have prevented a four per cent growth rate. Nor, as Harold Wilson would find out, if George Brown could be persuaded to take a few of his 'industrial advisers' from the bench instead of the board room, is it clock-watching on the part of individual workers. The argument, in fact, is not about production but productivity and that means, in present circumstances, the division of the cake between boss and worker. No-one can guarantee that higher productivity will mean lower prices, not higher profits.

Restrictive practices, it is clear, will go on as long as the working man has to sell his labour power (and maybe a bit longer). To drop all restrictive practices, in present society, means to drop all power to bargain. As Norman Atkinson, M.P., said in the debate on the Queen's Speech last November, some people invest their money on the Stock Exchange, and:

> If they do not get conditions which they regard as satisfactory they have the right to employ whatever restrictive practice they like, by withdrawing their capital or by other means of manipulation of restriction. But those of us who have nothing more than either our brain or our hands to invest in our society are immediately condemned because we say that we will invest this commodity in society for the greatest return in the quickest possible time.

At one time or another a union may sell a particular practice, it may even do well to sell it if it looks like becoming valueless. But it will not, if it is wise, sell it for money alone, it will see that there is a bit of power in the package as well.

LABOUR MONTHLY FORTY YEARS AGO

THE TWILIGHT OF TROTSKY

What tragic gap separates the Trotsky of 1917 from the Trotsky of 1924 this book makes pitifully clear. . . . For Trotsky, the great revolutionary, the brilliant organiser, the superb controversialist, shows himself here as a vain, garrulous tattler. It is the book of a sick and neurotic man, with only the rarest flash to remind us of the old Trotsky; a book of vague and rambling reminiscences of self-remembered trivial episodes, without form, without strength, without fire and shot through and through with an egotism which is pitiful to see in a great man. It is not a book on Lenin, but a book on Trotsky; the book of a sick man consoling himself by telling himself stories of his own great past; as pathetic a book as was ever unwisely given to the world.

(From W. N. Ewer's review of *Lenin* by Leon Trotsky, *Labour Monthly*, April 1925.)

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BUCHENWALD, APRIL 1945

Anonymous Prisoner

THE S.S. were nervous. Of the 50,000 prisoners in the camp on March 31, over 20,000 had already been forced into hastily formed columns and sent off by road to an unknown destination in Central Germany. Their aimless journey was to end in quarries or forests where those who had survived hunger and exhaustion were massacred without mercy.

The Nazi beasts, mortally wounded, driven to their last refuge, fought furiously. They knew their end was near and sought to drag down with them most of those who, if they survived, would constitute a merciless indictment of one of the most monstrous crimes of fascism.

On April 8 the S.S. decided to evacuate the sick and hospitalised. The spectacle was appalling. Thousands of men, sick, exhausted, skeletons driven from their huts in the centre of the camp with rifle butts, moved slowly like ghosts along the road to the parade ground whilst a double line of S.S. tried to hurry the spectres along with blows and curses. Those who fell down were pitilessly beaten to death. This horror lasted two days; the other prisoners, hardened as they were by long years of inhuman treatment, watched this crucifixion of their comrades with rage in their hearts, for they could not risk the total extermination of the camp by letting the resistance groups attack too soon, but had to wait until the advancing allies were near enough to provide prospects of success in the fight to liberate the 20,000 still in the camp.

On April 11 their moment came. They took arms, attacked their tormentors and freed the whole camp. And there they stood before the world as witnesses of one of the most appalling crimes against humanity. Solemnly they swore the Buchenwald oath which ran, in part:

> Today we are free.
> But the assassins of our comrades are still alive and our sadistic torturers are still at liberty.
> So we swear never to stop fighting until the last guilty man stands before the court of humanity.

Let those who are now trying, by the limitation of nazi crimes in West Germany, to give immunity and liberty to those who committed and ordered these crimes, remember this.

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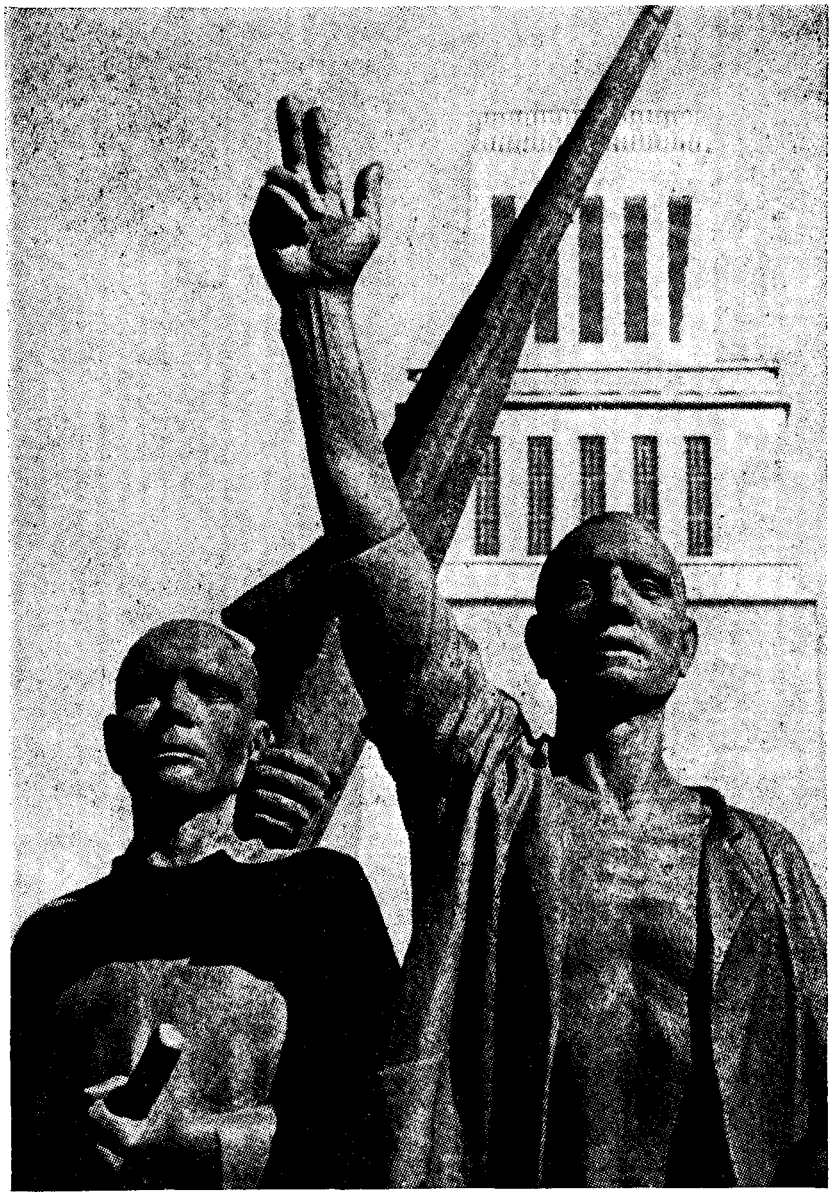

The National Memorial at Buchenwald
(Detail of the sculptured group).

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THE DOCTORS' CASE

Geoffrey Richman

Assistant Hon. Secretary, Socialist Medical Association.

IT is not possible in a short article to unravel all the complex threads which enter into an analysis of the dramatic crisis in the general practitioner services. Although a demand for more pay precipitated the storm of anger from G.Ps,* the real sources of frustration lie deeper. 'So dissatisfied are G.Ps with the way in which they have to do their work that their principal compensation for this work is to seek for more money' (*British Medical Journal*, February 27, 1965).

Before the National Health Service started, a British Medical Association questionnaire showed, amongst those replying, 80 per cent in the forces and 60 per cent of civilian doctors were in favour of a salaried service. Despite this, family doctors entered the service under the capitation method of the old panel system, which related earnings to the number of patients on the doctor's list, the doctor remaining a private contractor. This contradiction between individual responsibility (with all the anxieties of a small shopkeeper) and the necessity to provide 24-hour public service, lies at the root of the present impasse. Over the years the system has been enormously complicated in order to encourage co-operation between G.Ps, for example by 'loadings' in which extra payments are made for patients on the list from 801 to 1700.† When two doctors go into partnership a notional division of lists is made so that the maximum loading is payable. Expenses are repaid on an average basis, calculated from a sample, so that the more conscientious a doctor and the greater his expenses, the less he earns. Similarly the average net income of a G.P. is multiplied by the number of principals to arrive at a global sum (or 'Pool') from which all earnings, from whatever source are paid. Thus any particular doctor can earn more from maternity work, government or hospital departments, dispensing and so on, but the money is earned at the expense of his colleagues.

In 1963 the Review Body awarded a 14 per cent rise, three years retrospective and three to follow, just under $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum, 'the guiding light'. The salaried hospital doctors had a straight in-

*Number of G.Ps 21,020; assistants (employed by G.Ps) 1,153; G.Ps with restricted services (to schools, etc.) 698; *total* **22,981.**

Consultants 7,944 (of which 2,146 whole time); Junior hospital medical staff is 12,783; local authority about 2,500; others (research, teaching, government departments, industry, armed forces, etc.) about 10,000; *total* **33,227.** (These figures as at October 1963.)

†If partners. For single-handed doctor from 401 to 1,600, and since 1963 an additional loading of 1s. 6d. is added for 1,001 to 1,500.

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crease, but the G.P's gross income was increased by only 9 per cent (expenses were not included) and this fell to 5 per cent when it was discovered that the previous year's 'Pool' had been overdrawn—mainly due to the increased work of the smallpox scare and the rising birthrate with its extra maternity payments. Rank and file pressure forced the B.M.A. Council to put forward a new claim, a rather confused case eventually asking for the 'Pool' to relate solely to capitation, and for special payment for maturity and experience —about £18 million in all.

The Review Body agreed to remove certain earnings from the 'Pool', but tied the resultant sum to float a scheme for repaying more fairly expenses incurred in secretarial assistance. This had been under negotiation between the Ministry of Health and the profession, but the complex issues involved (were wives to be eligible for instance?) had prevented any agreement. Further, in deference to the increased work-load of G.Ps (their number fell by 74 last year, whilst the population is rising by 3·65 per cent per annum—moreover the proportions of the elderly and the very young, who have more illness, are both rising) they recommended an increase in the average of £10 per annum (from £2,765 to £2,775, net).

It is obvious that the system has become unworkable. Other problems have also added to their burden. The aggressiveness and selfishness of society emerges in the inconsiderate and demanding minority of patients who call their G.P. out in the middle of the night for trivialities. All the miseries of a competitive society in human terms, the unwanted, the unloved and those crushed by the weight of poverty or chronic illness, come to the G.P. for help. Whether it is an old person who needs social services or a welfare home, or a family breaking up through housing problems, or emotional illness (up to 30 per cent of his work-load) or the disabled who cannot find employment, the G.P. has to do something, but with the inadequate social services may feel himself helpless. Psychiatric problems in particular find him ill-equipped by his training. The rapid expansion of scientific medicine has moved the glamour to the white-coated hospital doctor, where many patients demand to be sent. This is the sort of work for which the medical student is trained and feels he can be useful, whilst the immense problems of preventive and social medicine, community mental health, occupational health services and so on, remain neglected.

At the same time the changed pattern of disease and powerful new drugs increase the G.P's responsibility for such diseases as acute

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infections and chronic ailments. Some doctors have collapsed under the strain, giving a minimum service, developing a brusque manner to defend them from a situation with which they cannot cope, resorting to a middle-class antagonism to their working-class patients (the medical schools have the highest proportion of public-school entrants of any faculty) and encouraging private practice, or evading their human problems by referring to patients as 'cases'—'that liver', 'that fracture'.

Many have responded to the challenge to improve which the N.H.S. has offered by removing the financial barrier between doctor and patient, or making him the hub of a system providing every type of medical care. They have formed groups and rotas, designed premises, introduced appointment systems, research, refresher courses, pioneered psycho-therapy in general practice and so on. But in the absence of any organisation, every change has come from personal effort. The range between good and bad is vast. Isolated, responsible day and night 365 days a year, unable to find locums for holidays or illness, faced with rising costs for premises, often denied direct access to pathology and x-ray facilities due to hospital staff shortages, they have gradually despaired.

The N.H.S. as a whole has been starved of finance, taking a constant 4½ per cent of the national income. The general medical services have relatively declined, from 0·44 per cent to 0·41 per cent between 1951 and 1961, an index of neglect. The workload has risen; as an example, outpatient attendances from two to over seven million, or for family doctors two to three services per patient per year to five or six (though the actual level varies from practice to practice, being higher in industrial areas where there is more sickness and where, moreover, the average list is much higher. It is 2,300 for the country as a whole but in St. Helen's 68 per cent of patients are on lists of over 3,000).

Every section of the N.H.S. is creaking at the joints and afflicted with anaemia. Increasing numbers of dentists are refusing certain treatments unless the patient becomes private. There are 60,000 empty hospital beds and a waiting list for admission of half a million largely due to a shortage of nurses. Physiotherapists, technicians, radiographers—every type of health worker is badly paid and working under poor conditions relative to outside industry. Junior hospital medical staff are also emigrating, alongside their general practitioner colleagues (over 400 a year, the equivalent of a quarter of the

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annual output of the medical schools). They start at £770 a year and pay £175 for compulsory residence—that is for the privilege of doing unpaid overtime, without married quarters. They must study for the higher qualifications the N.H.S. requires in their free time if any, and at their own expense (including examination fees). If they reach the stage of senior registrar with years of specialist experience, the antiquated career structure may deny them the security and rewards of promotion to consultant. Hospital doctors are also concerned about their conditions of work, whatever their motives in the recent publicised complaints and they are mixed. The fact remains that many hospital buildings are slums. It is more important to rebuild than to engage in debating points about the political allegiance of the consultants. It is the patients who are suffering. This is the overall atmosphere which led to the serious threats of resignation (now postponed to June 30). Resignations will produce mere anarchy, neither doctors nor patients will gain, except the small section wanting a return to private practice.

Let us consider who speaks for the doctors. This is complex. 90 per cent of doctors are in the British Medical Association, which is a professional body, not a union, but has the British Medical Guild for union affairs (such as organising the resignations). The B.M.A. has separate committees to speak for sectional interests. The General Medical Services Committee is autonomous and has representatives from other bodies as well as the B.M.A. This includes the local medical committees which are elected from areas corresponding to the executive councils to represent doctors' interests locally. The B.M.A. Council has radically altered its line on the family doctor services under the pressure of events—from acceptance of the status quo in 1963, to a new claim, largely for pay, in 1964, and now to proposals for improved conditions, though still committed to the private contractor concept.

The Medical Practitioners' Union (over 5,000 members, mostly G.Ps is affiliated to the T.U.C. and has for a long time proposed improvements in the conditions of the G.P. to enable him to give a better service. At present it supports resignation and has lost initiative to the B.M.A. The Fellowship for Freedom in Medicine, which has several hundred members, was formed in 1948 to oppose the N.H.S., but it now admits the necessity of the N.H.S. and has even called for different systems of pay—by items of service, capitation and salaries with health centres. The General Practitioners' Association was set up two years ago (2,500 members) largely as a protest

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by rank and file G.Ps against the lethargy of the B.M.A. It has no clearly defined policy.

The Socialist Medical Association is not a doctors' body, though several hundred doctors are members, but consists of all sections of health workers plus affiliated labour and trade union organisations. It has always stood for a salaried service, health centres and a big expansion of the N.H.S. Having warned for years that the present crisis was inevitable, it welcomes the adoption of many of its ideas by the B.M.A. but emphasises that they are only first steps and that a start must be made now in providing health centres, especially for the under-doctored areas.

A substantial section of G.Ps are sympathetic to the only solution: salaries and health centres. In a recent survey by *Pulse* of 6,700, 49 per cent said they would not oppose a salaried service, and similar surveys have shown one-third to half would like to work in Health Centres. This is a very different picture from even two or three years ago. The Minister told a conference (February 27, 1965, Southern Regional Council of the Labour Party):

> Group practices provided answers to many of the doctor's difficulties—some doctors might prefer to be relieved of the responsibility of providing and staffing their own premises—I should be very glad to discuss how and when this could be done.

Mr. Robinson is not apparently quite clear on the differences between group practices and health centres. Group practice is still very much an individual matter, where the doctors may not be a team, or co-operate with local authority work. Between 1954 and practice premises have been made. Only 3,651 G.P's are in groups of four or more (16 per cent)—a minimum for efficiency. What is needed is a determination to invest far more in the family doctor service, rapidly extending help with premises, ancillary staff and local authority attachments. This should be seen as a temporary measure whilst a network of health centres is planned and built up. A start could be made in under-doctored areas, along with inducement payments, and the offer of an optional salaried service. Only in this way can a framework for developing organisation within general practice be provided.

A health centre is a properly designed and equipped building where a team of doctors and other health workers (nurses, midwives, health visitors and so on) together provide full curative and preventive medical services for the whole of the community they serve. If. therefore, we are planning health centres for the whole country, they

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must be integrated with revised hospital and local health authority plans. In fact the chaotic tripartite administration of the N.H.S. will have to give place to an integrated and more democratic system, based on area health boards.

It is essential that the labour and trade union movements should ensure maximum understanding of the situation and press for action from the Government to improve the doctors' conditions. Otherwise the N.H.S. will die slowly but miserably from attrition.

THE SITUATION IN SPAIN

Mick McGahey*

ONCE more the proud, liberty-loving name of Spain stretches across the headlines of the world press to remind all democrats and anti-fascists that the heroic Spanish people are continuing the struggle against the hated Franco fascist régime. Ever widening sections of the people, the intellectuals, the students, people of different religions are rallying around the call of the working class to take action. The miners of the Asturias, young and old, continue their struggle, which has lasted three decades, for the right to organise in free trade unions. The determination of the Spanish people to win political liberty is expressed most forcibly in the stand of Julian Grimau, the Communist, who true to his political calling accepted death rather than give up the fight to free his people. Thousands of democrats are facing the brute force of the fascist state machine and despite torture and brutality, the equal of which can only be found in the records of Hitlerite Germany, are demonstrating that a people, once united around the aim of winning freedom, can never be suppressed or defeated. The valiant fighters of the Spanish Civil War have given birth to a new generation of heroes who are determined to ensure that Spain will take its rightful place in the foremost ranks of progressive humanity.

Into the centre of the struggle over the past months have marched the Students, who in alliance with the workers, are struggling for the elementary right to establish their own democratically elected student's organisations. This has evoked the widespread support of all sections of Spanish life. The students refuse to be intimidated by the vicious attacks of the armed police supported by the hated Civil Guard. The closing of the Madrid University was the action of a

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desperate and frightened Government and resulted in an even wider protest movement involving the students and professors throughout Spain. The powerful united actions of the students resulted in the organised demonstration of March 2, which faced the Franco régime with its biggest protest movement for more than twenty years. Students and their professors united to carry through their protest action and demonstrated in the streets of Madrid, battling for two hours against the oppressive forces of the armed police and Civil Guard. Their action set in motion the whole student force in Spain, with mass walk-outs in all the key universities in Barcelona, Granada, Seville and other cities. The action of the students is matched and supported by the continuous activity of workers, who are mounting new actions against the Fascist government daily. But it will not be sufficient to stand back and praise the heroic actions of the Spanish people. They must not be left alone to face the horror and brutality of the fascist state with its bloody and murderous actions against the people. The jails of Spain are filled with democrats of all political parties who stand opposed to Fascism.

As the movement grows and develops, the forces of Franco get more and more desperate, and his courts and their fascist judges impose heavier and more vindictive sentences. The lives of the brave anti-fascist prisoners are in danger and their safety demands the widest protest movement in every country in order to save them from the reign of terror initiated by Franco and his hirelings. The fear-ridden ruling caste will stop at nothing to wreak revenge on the Spanish people and their leaders. We must never allow the memory of the murder of Julian Grimau to grow dim, but strive to halt fascist forces inflicting still greater crimes. The life of Justo Lopez, famous anti-fascist and comrade of Julian Grimau, is now threatened. The Government, desperate to try and halt the growing forces for freedom are attempting to intimidate by instituting charges arising from the Spanish Civil War of twenty-five years ago, which carry the sentence of death. These fabrications by the fascists must be exposed and halted. Justo Lopez must be saved and an end brought to the monstrous terror inflicted on the Spanish people.

The struggle of the Spanish people against the forces of fascism has won the admiration and respect of peoples throughout the world. The realisation that fascism (the same abhorrent creed which caused the second world war) must be defeated is drawing into action more and more people in every land. We in Britain have a special responsibility in the struggle for Spanish freedom and an end to fascism, and

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the warmth and feeling of the British people needs to be channelled into action of support for the Spanish people. The election of the Labour Government should spur the movement forward to ensure that the voice of the British people will be heard in the fight to save the life of Justo Lopez and for the release of all political prisoners held in Franco's jails.

The tremendous response that can be won for support of Spanish democracy was shown by the unanimous support of the Scottish Miners' branches to donate £500 to relief for the Asturian miners in their struggle for a free trade union. The National Executive of the miners have also expressed their support. The present struggle of the students is receiving support and the declaration of the National Union of Students in Britain calling for unity in action with their fellow students in Spain is to be applauded. But so much remains to be done if we are to ensure the safety of Justo Lopez and his fellow prisoners and time is not on our side. The more desperate Franco becomes, the more desperate will be his actions and the foul murder of Julian Grimau in face of world-wide protest indicates that he will stop at nothing in order to maintain his rule of terror.

The full weight of the powerful labour and trade union movement must be moved into action as speedily as possible. The Government should be pressed to break its silence and speak out in the Councils of the world for Spanish democracy. The need to develop the movement is urgent and the possibilities are immense. Every trade union should be won for support; the Labour Party and Co-operative Movement are filled with people anxious to help Spain; Parliament and the Government can be made to give voice to this movement; but the key to success is action now in every locality and organisation of the people. Resolutions and protests should be flooding into the Government and deputations to M.P.s be organised; the National Council of Labour should meet and issue a call for the immediate release of Justo Lopez and all political prisoners; for an end to all arms dealings with Franco; boycott trade with Spain and for the Government to take immediate action in the United Nations to condemn the Franco terror. Herein lies the heart of the whole fight, namely action. If Barbara Castle feels moved to cancel her holidays in Spain because of Franco's activity around Gibraltar, let her move her Cabinet colleagues to action to end any dealings with Franco and give full expression to the cause of Spanish freedom and democracy.

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Communications

Co-operative Movement:

IN AN otherwise excellent article by J. R. Campbell in the March issue entitled 'How to Fight Price Rises', it is a great pity that the essential rôle of the Co-operative Movement was not stressed. J. R. Campbell correctly pointed out how, in conditions of growing monopoly, price competition has been damped down and most prices are 'administered' and he went on to explain how the big retail monopolies create confusion by giving widescale publicity to one specific reduction (e.g. the recent wines and spirits announcement) while keeping quiet about the prices that are being pushed up.

The Co-operative Movement with all of its weaknesses is the only bulwark against the monopolists in retail distribution, and is today being forced into a life or death struggle from which there can be no truce. It has been suggested that two of the five aims of the Co-operative Movement should be: To fight back against the onslaught of monopoly in distribution, and continue to expand its sector of the economy; to champion the consumers and establish machinery for their protection.

The London Co-operative Society under the leadership of the progressive 1960 Campaign Committee, has been for some time, and is still in the forefront of this struggle: firstly by keeping its prices at the lowest possible level under its slogan of, 'Buy Better for less at the L.C.S.'; secondly, by its declared intention of calling a conference of the London working-class movement to help to organise pressure on the Government for more effective action on prices.

J. R. Campbell's article demanded, 'It is time for the working-class movement to intervene . . .' and I agree wholeheartedly with this, but surely a vital part of such intervention must be to strengthen our co-operative organisations as a shield against the monopolies and their price increases. There is today an urgent need, as well as a plain duty for every trade unionist whose hard-won, even if inadequate, wage increase is swallowed up by rising prices; every old age pensioner whose pension increase has been filched before even it has been paid; every housewife with young children; and indeed every progressive to become real co-operators, and play their part at the members' meetings in determining the policy and form of action the movement should take.

In the London Co-operative Society this vital question of prices and united working-class action will be a major issue in the important elections that are being held during the last week of April for the Presidency and the Committee of Management.

Tom Rampling,
London, E.5.

Electoral Reform:

MR. PRITT'S article 'The Speaker's Conference' in the March issue is a welcome reminder that this Conference ought to be dealing with fundamental reform and not only with the frills that are apparently intended to occupy it. It will be nice to have a postal vote when on holiday, but of what practical use will it be if that vote is cast for the Labour candidate in Arundel or the Conservative in Abertillery? For that matter, a Labour supporter in Abertillery cannot be very worried about whether he is able to vote or not—it is a foregone conclusion that the Labour candidate will be elected, and that it will be the man selected by a meeting of 130 people, whether or

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not he is the one whom most of the 37,000 electors would choose.

By all means let us have the minor reforms too, but what really matters is proportional representation to make reasonably certain that every elector's vote will affect the result. (Incidentally, there is an inaccuracy in the editorial note: the Miners and Railwaymen elect one person at a time by the alternative vote. Real users of Proportional Representation include the National Union of Teachers, the Clerical and Administrative Workers and the Royal Arsenal Co-operative Society.)

Mr. Pritt's article happens to be followed by one on British Guiana, which alleges that the institution of Proportional Representation there amounted to rigging the constitution against the People's Progressive Party. Whatever the motives for the change may have been, the effect is perfectly just; the P.P.P. has its fair share of seats and would have been assured of a majority if it had persuaded the majority of voters to support it. It is, however, a great pity that the form of P.R. chosen was the party list form as used in Israel, not the single transferable vote form which is what P.R. means in this country. The party list can do nothing to break down the unhealthy association of party with race, the Single Transferable Vote would.

Enid Lakeman,
Director, Electoral Reform Society.

Education:

WHILE welcoming T. Cuthbert's article on education in the March issue, I submit we shall better come to grips with the real problem if we speak of the struggle not for Comprehensive but for Non-selective education. I submit too that we must question T. Cuthbert's contention that it is not yet feasible to abolish streaming (due to streaming in the junior school) and also his phrase 'bright and retarded'.

It is clearly going to take some time to unstream the junior schools and even longer for the effect of this to reach the secondaries. In the meantime have the secondaries no responsibility for making all possible amends to the victims of streaming? At 5½ years a child suffers the ignominy of being allocated to a B or C class. Every year from then on he is put a little further behind the A class ('THEY learned to read and write—WE sang silly songs' remembers one victim) and he gets a little more browned off ('When we say we are in the C class we are ashamed'). When these children come to a grand new Comprehensive School they have hearts full of hope and resolve, only to find, too often from the very first day, that nothing has changed, and that for the next four years, as for the past six, they are to be second class citizens of the school community.

Comprehensive School or Leicester Plan, we must insist on a proper secondary course for all children, and all experience to date suggests that this will benefit not only the children retarded by their pre-school and primary environment but also those (not necessarily one wit 'brighter') whose pre-secondary environment has been more helpful. 'Democracy by staff and pupil consultation' which T. Cuthbert demands is not likely to be achieved in a streamed school. The blight of streaming blasts human relations between staff and pupil, between the pupils themselves, and between rank-and-file staff members and those more particularly interested in the A classes and in examination results.

K. B. Forge,
Bromley.

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HOW BRITAIN APPEASES APARTHEID

Michael Harmel

THE three British-ruled territories in South Africa, Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, are commonly known as the 'Protectorates,' a term originating in agreements made in Queen Victoria's time whereby Britain was to defend the inhabitants against the insatiable appetite for African land of South Africa's white colonialists. The result in each case was the enforced cession of vast tracts of the most desirable land in each area to the same White colonialists, and the replacement of independent African administrators by parasitic and incompetent British civil servants.

The main interest of British imperialism in South Africa has always been the extraction of huge profits for investors out of the mineral and other resources and cheap labour of the African people. This explains Britain's abysmal policy towards South Africa in general, and in particular in the Protectorates. Poverty in these countries, which drives the men out to seek work in the Rand gold mines and other enterprises in South Africa, and which subordinates them to South African colonialism, suits these interests admirably. It is worth recalling that the essential groundwork for the whole monstrous edifice of apartheid, as we know it today, was laid down by a law of the British Parliament. This was the South Africa Act of 1909, which provided for the amalgamation of the four British colonies—the Cape, Transvaal, Orange River and Natal—into the Union of South Africa, governed by an all-White Parliament elected by Whites. In all its essentials this Act remains the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa to this very day.

It was then contemplated that the Protectorates might also at some stage be incorporated in the Union, and a clause of the Act even provides for this possibility after 'consultation' with their inhabitants. The various Pretoria administrations have from time to time demanded incorporation, and only powerful resistance from the people of the territories and their friends in Britain averted such a monstrous betrayal. Particularly during the past decade the African Revolution has spread to the three countries. Militant liberation movements, enjoying the sympathy and support of the masses in the Republic and in Free Africa, have arisen, demanding independence and democracy and an end to the British version of apartheid.

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Under these pressures, and particularly with the departure of the Republic of South Africa from the Commonwealth, some grudging and superficial concessions have been made. The colour bar has been removed in hotels and cafes, but not in the upper ranks of the civil service. Delegations, usually of a dubiously representative character, have been summoned to London to negotiate the details of new constitutions which would provide the appearance, though not the reality, of independence and self-government for Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland.

A cardinal concern of the Colonial Office is to ensure that nothing is done to alarm or annoy the fascist and racialist regime in Pretoria. The excuse is made that the interests of the inhabitants require this in view of their economic dependence on the Republic and their vulnerability to military aggression. It is true that typical colonialist neglect, stagnation and lack of development has resulted in the almost complete subordination of the economies of the three territories to that of South Africa. Their currency, banking and customs are controlled by the Republic, on which they depend largely for manufactures and employment. More than half the adult male population of Basutoland are always away from home, working in the gold mines and elsewhere across the border, and a similar situation exists in the other two Protectorates. It is also true that the territories have no organised defence forces. During the second world war their people responded to the call to enlist, but thereafter the troops were disbanded and disarmed, leaving the countries without military protection against their powerful and aggressive neighbour armed to the teeth by Britain and her Nato allies. But these facts do not justify British policy; rather they prove that the first essential for the Basuto, Swazi and Bechuana people, if they wish to attain and preserve economic and political independence, is to get rid of the rule of British imperialism with its fatal policy of appeasement.

Verwoerd has carefully studied the techniques of his mentor, Adolf Hitler, for use against small neighbours; Britain's rôle recalls the days of Munich. Agents of the Republic have set to work to recruit and purchase supporters. In Swaziland and Bechuanaland they have a ready-made Fifth Column in the form of the small but powerful groups of white settlers, nearly all South African citizens, who own much of the best land (in Swaziland, nearly half) and predominate economically. Verwoerd hopes to use these groups, together with reactionary indigenous elements to achieve by cunning what his predecessors failed to accomplish by diplomacy—*de facto* incorpor-

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ation into the Republic, as part of the diabolical 'Bantustan' swindle. British policy encourages these hopes. Under the pretence of conceding 'independence' and 'self-government' a new sell-out is being planned. Verwoerd himself recognises this well, and welcomes these moves.

Looking at the present British-imposed constitution for Swaziland, for example, one sees what Verwoerd means. Of twenty-four members of the legislature, eight are elected by the tiny White minority of South Africans; a further eight appointed by the feudal court of the Ngwenyama Chief Sobhuza; leaving only eight to be elected by the Swazis. Last year, the biggest protest demonstration and strike ever seen in Swaziland took place in opposition to these proposals; a demonstration eventually suppressed by British troops flown over Republican territory by kind permission of Pretoria. The subsequent elections were held under conditions amounting to martial law, with the main leaders of the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress and the trade unions. who had led the strike, in prison. Not unexpectedly, the result was a 'legislature' dominated by Carel Todd's White settlers and Sobhuza's royalist party—an outcome highly satisfactory to Pretoria. The most influential man at Sobhuza's court today is a Mr. van Wyk de Vries, a Johannesburg lawyer high up in the Broederbund, Verwoerd's fascist secret society which dominates South African politics.

The recent elections in Bechuanaland were also held under a made-in-London constitution which favours the White ranchers in the Tati concession area and places undue emphasis on the complex tribal structure, carefully preserved in typical colonialist fashion. These circumstances seriously handicapped militant and modern liberation mevements, such as the Botswana Independence Party headed by Mr. Motsomai Mpho, demanding independence now and far-reaching democratic reforms, and the election was won, with a big majority, by the Bechuanaland Democratic Party. Although he was favoured by the British colonialists, the leader of this Party, Seretse Khama, is no Sobhuza. He was once exiled to Britain and removed from his hereditary position as head of the Bamangwato tribe by Patrick Gordon Walker, then Labour Colonial Secretary, for the 'crime' of marrying a white woman, and thus offending the racialists in Pretoria. Before the elections he told the Johannesburg *Star* that the B.D.P. would 'continue the policies of the present government' (i.e. of British imperialism) and that independence meant little to most Tswanas—'an unsophisticated tribespeople'. He

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also opposed a boycott of South African goods, and favoured a policy of 'neutrality' towards the Republic and steering 'very gingerly' a course between the Organisation of African Unity and apartheid South Africa. But the Tswana are not so 'unsophisticated'. They know fascism and apartheid from personal experience, as workers in the Republic, and thoroughly detest both. Mass pressure has at last succeeded in removing the capital of the country from Mafeking, where it had been for the last fifty years—a unique and unenviable situation of a country's capital being situated in a foreign territory!—to Gaberones. The same pressure will impel the Khama administration to more and more steps towards Africanisation of the public service, redemption of alienated land, genuine independence from both British and South African imperialism, and closer alignment with the states of free Africa. In these aims, Bechuanaland is favoured by geography. It is the largest of the three territories, though unfortunately much of this is made up of the Kalahari Desert. Its cattle-raising economy is more nearly self-sufficient than those of the other Protectorates. More important, it has, with its short common border with Zambia, direct access to the north and the independent states of the Organisation of African Unity.

The reverse is true of Basutoland (Lesothe) whose small and mountainous territory is entirely surrounded by the Republic. But here there is no 'white settler' problem. Thanks to the far-seeing wisdom of the founder of the nation, Moshoeshoe, one of the most brilliant of nineteenth century statesmen, all the land is the inalienable property of the nation. The Basuto, inheritors of a long and unbroken tradition of independence have won a greater measure of democracy and self-government than their fellows in the other two 'Protectorates'. The forthcoming elections will be held on the one-man-one-vote principle: universal adult franchise.

Both of the larger parties, the Basutoland Congress Party (which has a majority of elected seats in the present legislative council) and the Maremattou Freedom Party, have advanced similar policies demanding complete independence now. It is to be regretted that differences, largely of a personal nature, have prevented them adopting the proposal of the Communist Party of Lesotho and the Lekhotla la Bafo for a united patriotic front against reactionary and pro-colonialist elements. In the constitutional talks held in London last May, the Tory government succeeded in persuading the Basuto delegation to defer independence for one year after these, already

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overdue, elections. In the meantime, the British Government Representative will 'retain responsibilities for external affairs, defence and internal security . . . he will also be responsible for the appointment, promotion and discipline of public officers'.

A characteristic feature of the present period of South African history is the very considerable number of opponents of apartheid who have escaped into all three territories from fascist repression in the Republic. The treatment of these refugees by the British authorities stands in sharp contrast to their toleration of agents of Verwoerd who are allowed to come and go as they please, and to carry out organised terrorism in the 'Protectorates'. Opponents of apartheid are required, immediately on arrival, to sign undertakings to take no part in political activity, either in any of the Protectorates themselves, or regarding any neighbouring territory—including, that is, the Republic, Mozambique and Rhodesia. Lifelong opponents of racialism are thereby precluded from even so much as writing articles on Southern African public affairs—though supporters of Verwoerd are free to interfere as much as they please, an opportunity of which they take full advantage. A number of well known anti-apartheid spokesmen, including Duma Nokwe and his wife, Jack and Rica Hodgson and the present writer, have been declared 'prohibited immigrants'.

One of the most notorious cases is that of Sydney Kitching, British-born trade unionist who owns a large cattle ranch in Swaziland. On a visit to the Republic Mr. Kitching was held under the notorious '90-day' detention-without-trial law. The British representatives in South Africa not only failed to take steps for his release, but on his return to Swaziland subjected him to a number of acts of petty persecution and eventually ordered him out of the country. Time and again, agents of the special branch of the South African police, who operate a secret terrorist organisation in each of the three territories, have committed blatant acts of aggression with impunity. Anderson Ganyile and two companions were kidnapped in Basutoland by special branch agents and kept, secretly and incommunicado in a Transkei jail—until Ganyile managed to smuggle out a letter, and the resultant publicity compelled their return to Basutoland. A similar case occurred last year in Bechuanaland—that of Dr. Ken Abrahams, kidnapped from Bechuanaland at gunpoint, but eventually returned after a storm of public protests. Mrs. Rosemary Wentzel was similarly kidnapped from Swaziland. In her case no action was taken by the British authorities who said they

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were 'investigating'. The investigations took so long (though the facts were well known) that Mrs. Wentzel broke down under police interrogation and agreed to give state evidence in a recent sabotage trial in Johannesburg. Also from Swaziland, agents of the P.I.D.E., Salazar's Gestapo, have been permitted to abduct members of the Mozambique Liberation Front and spirit them across the border to fascist dungeons.

The Verwoerd agents do not restrict themselves to kidnappings. An East African Airways plane, chartered to pick up refugees at Francistown, in Bechuanaland, was burnt to ashes on the airfield—the African National Congress alleged that the fire was caused by time bombs which exploded prematurely; they were intended to go off while the plane, with its passengers, was airborne. Anti-apartheid leaders have repeatedly been subjected to murderous assaults in the territories, their assailants never brought to justice. The Verwoerd government openly censors letters on their way to the three countries. It has demanded, and Britain has accepted, humiliating and outrageous regulations whereby all aircraft overflying the Republic to and from the territories—and it is impossible for planes otherwise to enter Basutoland—must land and submit to a search by South African police.

Many of these disgraceful actions of appeasement of apartheid were vigorously criticised by the Labour Party when it was in opposition. The Labour Front Bench loudly condemned the sending of troops to Swaziland to suppress the strike against the shameful constitution. Four months after the elections, with Labour in office, the constitution is still in force; the troops are still there. In fact the Labour government has not taken a single step that anyone can see to reverse the disastrous policy of their predecessors.

Genuinely independent Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland, under popularly elected governments, and taking rapid, purposeful steps to develop their economies and provide employment, would be an inspiration to all the enslaved peoples of Southern Africa. It should be the main purpose of a Labour Government to open the way to such genuine freedom and democracy without delay. The restrictions and bans against anti-apartheid South Africans should be lifted immediately. In Swaziland and Bechuanaland, all further land deals should be stopped at once, and existing land-holdings in the hands of settlers should be stopped at once, and existing land-holdings in the hands of settlers should be bought out and restored to the indigenous people. The Swaziland and Bechuanaland consti-

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tutions should be replaced with democratic structures based on the principle 'one man, one woman, one vote'. The popularly-elected governments should enjoy sovereign powers, including foreign affairs, defence, security and the civil service. Only thus would they be enabled not only to cast off the crippling rule of colonialism, but also to defend themselves against direct and indirect aggression, economic blackmail and domination from Verwoerd's Republic. For, once they were able to form the necessary alliances with other African and world states, any attack by the Republic across the borders would face Verwoerd with a world alliance and certain defeat.

Is it unreal to expect such a reversal of policy, an end to appeasement, and the establishment of genuinely independent and democratic governments in the three Protectorates? It should not be so. Many senior members of the Labour government are aware, in broad outline, of the facts of the situation. What is lacking is a well-informed and vigorous movement of labour and democratic opinion to insist that, after a century of double-dealing, justice should at last be done to the African people of these three key territories.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Internationale
R. Palme Dutt
Lawrence & Wishart. 418 pp. 36*s*.

R. PALME DUTT has long been associated in theory and practice with the history of working-class internationalism. Indeed his first major publication was *The Two Internationals* (1920), a study of the breakdown of the second and the origins of the third international, which is of great value to the historian. It is therefore not surprising that, in the centenary year of Karl Marx' International Workingmen's Association—the 'First International'—he should have turned again to this theme and produced a survey of the entire course of socialist internationalism from the early nineteenth century to the present. *The Internationale* 'lays no claim to original or profound historical research'. This is a slightly misleading piece of modesty. It ought not to suggest that the author does not possess original and profound knowledge, for obviously he does, especially about the period of the Communist International. It simply indicates that he did not set out to address a public of historians or other experts, or to add to the already vast specialist literature on the internationals. His book, in his own words, 'is no more than a very rapid and elementary sketch for the new reader'.

The Internationale begins by analysing internationalism, distinguishing the bourgeois from the working-class kind. The author then deals with the fore-runners of the international, and the First and Second Internationals. The greater part of the book—about two-thirds—is devoted to the period since 1914. The core of this section lies in the six chapters which cover the period of the Communist International. Three chapters on 'The World System of Socialism', 'International Communist Conferences and

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Relations' and 'The Social-Democratic International' since world war two, round off the book.

The bulk of R.P.D.'s volume therefore deals with a period full of past and present controversy, or rather suppressed controversy, for among communists the convention prevailed for many years that the main questions of the history of international socialism had been settled, or else that vexed and tangled problems should not be publicly ventilated. As a result the history of the Communist International was long left either to communist non-historians or to non-communists, and indeed overwhelmingly to anti-communists. R.P.D. is to be congratulated for breaking with this tradition, and the credit should be all the greater because he is himself a political figure deeply and responsibly involved for almost half a century in national and international communist organisation.

Thus he raises in public, what every informed communist has long known, namely that international policy was open to criticism in at least two major periods: in the years after 1928 and between the outbreak of world war two and the Nazi attack on the U.S.S.R. in 1941. R.P.D.'s personal view—and the book marks a notable step forward in this readiness to put forward a personal view in advance of 'any final verdict on these disputed questions, still less any official viewpoint of the Communist Party in this country or communists elsewhere'—is that the criticisms of the post-1927 period are on the whole justified, but not those of the 1939-41 period. In the earlier period he regards the slogan 'class against class' as 'potentially misleading' and the description of social-democracy as 'social-fascism' as wrong. He points out that in the 1920s 'there took place, alongside heroic leadership of mass struggles, errors of tactics and direction in particular countries, normally corrected by the International Executive, but sometimes, especially in the later twenties, with some participation of the International Executive'. He notes 'some trends to sectarianism' in some of the formulations of the Sixth Congress in 1928, and makes valid criticisms of the German communists in the period before Hitler's advent to power. On the other hand in 1939 he comes down on the side of the policy which the British Communist Party adopted shortly after the outbreak of war, though without fully analysing the International's repeated description of the war as 'imperialist'.

The important thing about such judgements is not that we should agree with them. It is that they should be made in this form at all by leading communists, i.e. that the history of the Communist Party should be presented as a subject for critical enquiry which has not yet produced a 'final verdict'—though some reviewers of this book appear to think that their own by no means uncontroversial views are definitive. In Britain this initiative is particularly welcome, though there are other countries in which it is no longer necessary, e.g. Italy, where the Communist Party has deposited its archives in a research institution and opened them to qualified historians until, at all events, the second world war. Nor can we perhaps expect a writer who is still deeply involved in responsible political functions, including international discussions, to treat certain topics—especially current ones—with as much ease as less involved historians. But that is not the point. Though it might be desirable, it was not to be expected that R.P.D. would treat many controversial aspects of the history of inter-

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national communism other than with great—perhaps some would say at times excessive—caution. The value of his book is that it opens a new phase in the study of their history by Communists in this country.

It also does something to remind us that internationalism is at the very heart of socialism, and that the history of the international working-class movement, in spite of its errors and difficulties, has been one of achievement rather than failure, and above all a history of the hope of humanity. One hundred years after the foundation of Marx' International the point is worth making, for it is often in danger of being forgotten.

E. J. HOBSBAWM.

My Life with the Miners
Abe Moffat
Lawrence & Wishart. 324 pp. 42*s*.

ABE MOFFAT RETIRED from the Presidency of the Scottish Mineworkers in 1961. Born in the Fifeshire coalfield in 1896, he went down the pit at the age of fourteen and was continuously associated with coalmining and coal miners thereafter—as miner, local councillor, union official and, until his retirement, President of the Miners' Union. His memoirs tell a story of over fifty years' single-minded but many-sided service to his fellow workers and the labour movement.

This story ranges over an eventful and historical period of struggle, the first world war, the years of depression, the second world war, the nationalisation of the coal industry and among many other important political events the campaigning for peace and a socialist Britain. Dispersed throughout are the stories of the struggles to improve the lot of the miners and their families and the reader is reminded of the many privations suffered by miners and other workers during these problem years. Abe's undying concern for people emerges in his accounts of his work—whether it was a local housing problem in the village or the struggle against employers or right-wing opportunists, whether against victimisation or for trade union unity—all these were for the people, to improve their living and working conditions.

The harsh reality of life faced Abe very early, for within six weeks of starting work underground he sustained his first accident and during his first two years he experienced his first strike—the attempt to establish the Minimum Wage Act. This experience made an impact on the young Moffat and stood him in good stead in the numerous actions that he was to be involved in later.

When world war one broke out, like many youngsters of that time, he was duped by 'jingoistic' propaganda: 'Your country needs you', 'Down with Prussian militarism', 'Join the army in the war to end all wars and obtain a Britain fit for heroes to live in'. The book recalls experiences that quickly disillusioned the author, and he realised that millions of workers were killing each other and that no country was concerned to improve their land for heroes if he so happened to be a working-class hero. Then in the post-war period he recounts the history of the famous Sankey Commissions, which recommended among other things public ownership of the mining industry. The eventful period he then describes of the securing of the seven-hour day; serious unemployment; the great lock-out of 1921; the use of troops against the workers; reductions in wages; treachery in the trade union movement and the mag-

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nificent struggle of the miners; all this is certainly worthwhile reading for the young reader and is certain to evoke many memories for the older reader. It made a deep impression upon Moffat who felt impelled to ask himself the question—What can be done to defend the conditions of workers? He had read the *Communist Manifesto, Wage, Labour and Capital,* and in particular, *Foundations of Leninism.* Having acquired the theoretical knowledge and living in an area where stalwarts of the working class such as Willie Gallacher, Bob Stewart and others were busy campaigning, he finally answered his question by joining the Communist Party at the age of twenty-six. The autobiography acknowledges that his communist education was the philosophical base of the years ahead. He was quick to appreciate that whilst work and struggle in the trade union field is important, one cannot separate industrial work from political work, especially when every aspect of one's living is affected by political decisions and policy.

The book deals graphically with the fight for one miners' union in Scotland—the struggle of 1926, the many examples of victimisation, his own blacklisting and eventual triumph of getting back into mining with his subsequent election to local union official followed by election to the executive committee of the Scottish Miners in 1940. The formation of a single union for miners in Scotland was the primary task of Abe and others following his election as President of the old National Union of Scottish Mineworkers and this was achieved by March 1944.

After the second world war he tells the story of the strike of the French miners and the support given them by the Scottish miners. Their support was both in words and deeds, for they gave the French miners £1,500, and this was only one of many incidents which show the great rôle played by the Scottish miners, under Abe Moffat's leadership, in fostering international working-class solidarity.

The book deals in detail with the first years of nationalisation and the election of a Labour Government in 1945 and in successive chapters the issues of re-armament and disarmament, peace and the cold war, together with many industrial, economic and political issues of this period up to 1961. In reviewing this book I am conscious of the many aspects of Moffat's work I have not touched upon, in particular his work in the field of safety in the mining industry, but I hope this review will serve to persuade readers to purchase the book—they will be well rewarded.

In addition to his personal abilities, Abe Moffat had a very strong, reliant and reassuring right arm in his good wife Helen and those of us concerned for people, all people, give thanks to Helen for her contribution. For Abe's 'Life with the Miners' is her's too.

JACK DUNN.

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